

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10  
NSAE-00 PA-01 ICA-11 SP-02 IO-13 PM-05 NSC-05  
SS-15 L-03 MCT-01 EB-08 TRSE-00 H-01 ACDA-12  
EUR-12 /115 W

-----027785 231325Z /41

R 230645Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MBABANE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5042  
INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY MASERU  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 MBABANE 2131

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINR, WZ  
SUBJECT: SWAZILAND AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERATION  
MOVEMENTS: THE VIEW FROM PRETORIA

REF: MBABANE 2029, 2034, 1295 AND PREVIOUS

1. AS PART OF REPORTING EXERCISE ON SOUTH AFRICAN  
LIBERATION MOVEMENT (ANC AND PAC) ACTIVITIES IN  
SWAZILAND, EMBOFF RECENTLY SEPNT TWO DAYS IN PRETORIA  
DISCUSSING THIS SUBJECT WITH THE SWAZILAND DESK OFFICER  
AND AREA DIECTOR AT THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
AND WITH BRIG. GEN. ZEITSMAN AND COLONEL COETZEE OF THE  
SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY POLICE. TEXT OF THIS CABLE WAS  
CLEARED WITH POLITICAL SECTION, AMEMBASSY PRETORIA.

2. GENERAL IMPRESSIONS: FOR THE MOST PART THE SECURITY  
POLICE HAVE A FAR BETTER UNDERSTANDING, (OR AT LEAST  
WERE MORE WILLING TO DISCUSS,) SWAZILAND'S POLITICAL/  
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SECURITY POSITION THAN OFFICIALS AT MIN OF FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS. ZEITSMAN AND COETZEE HAVE AN EXCEPTIONAL  
RANGE OF ACCURATE AND DETAILED INFORMATION ON LIBERA-  
TION MOVEMENT MEMBERS AND ACTIVITIES IN SWAZILAND AS  
WELL AS A VERY GOOD FEEL FOR MANY OF THE INTRICACIES  
AND PERSONALITIES INSIDE THE GOS. BY CAMPARISON  
FOREIGN AFFIRS OFFICIALS TENDED TO SEE SWAZILAND IN MUCH MORE

RIGHT WING DOCTRINAIRE TERMS (E.E. ANOTHER AFRICAN STATE THREATENING TO BECOME LEFTIST) AND GAVE THE IMPRESSION OF BEING LESS WELL INFORMED ON SWAZI MATTERS. DEPT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAS NO DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION HERE AND PRESUMABLY DOES NOT HAVE ACCESS TO THE SECURITY POLICE NETWORK OF INFORMERS IN SWAZILAND.

3. ZEITSMAN DISMISSED AS "RUBBISH" ANY SUGGESTION THAT THE SECURITY POLICE ARE MOUNTING OPERATIONS INSIDE SWAZILAND. COMMENT: THIS IS IN DIRECT CONTRADICTION TO A PORTUGUESE SECURITY OFFICER FROM MOZAMBIQUE WHO IS NOW WORKING FOR THE RSA SECURITY POLICE IN NATAL WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SOUTHERN MOZAMBIKAN BORDER. HE HAD INFORMED THE POLITICAL OFFICER AT AMCONSULATE DURBAN IN 1977 THAT THE SAG WAS RUNNING PATROLS INSIDE SWAZILAND TO INTERDICT RETURNING GUERILLAS. END COMMENT. ZEITSMAN STATED THAT ALL THEIR INFORMATION IS OBTAINED FROM INTERROGATION OF PRISONERS CAPTURED INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA. COMMENT: POLICE AND OTHER CONTACTS IN SWAZILAND INDICATE THAT MANZINI, IN PARTICULAR, IS A CENTER FOR SAG INFORMANTS IN SWAZILAND. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THEY WORK FOR THE SECURITY POLICE OR BOSS. END COMMENT.

4. ZEITSMAN STATED THAT THEY DO NOT HAVE A POLICY OF HOT PURSUIT INTO SWAZILAND FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENT.  
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MENT MEMBERS THEY HAVE FOUND ENTERING SOUTH AFRICA. THE SAG HAS NO WISH TO MAKE LIFE MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE GOS. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THUS FAR IT HASN'T BEEN NECESSARY AS THEY ARE WELL AWARE OF INFILTRATION ROUTES AND HAVE BEEN ABLE TO CAPTURE THE PEOPLE INSIDE RSA.  
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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15

CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-01 ICA-11 IO-13  
L-03 MCT-01 EB-08 TRSE-00 H-01 ACDA-12 EUR-12  
/115 W

-----027837 231329Z /41

R 230645Z JUN 78

FM AMEMBASSY MBABANE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5043  
INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY MASERU  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 MBABANE 2131

5. ZEITSMAN AND COETZEE WERE VERY INTERESTED IN THE  
ROLE OF THE SWAZILAND ARMY AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO  
THE POLICE. THEY WERE AWARE OF SOME UNPUBLICIZED  
ARMY ACTIVITIES IN THE INGWAVUMA AREA (MBABANE 1098  
AND 1179) BUT WERE NOT FAMILIAR WITH THE REASONS.  
ZEITSMANN SUMMED UP HIS ESTIMATION OF PRIMIN MAPHEVU  
AND HIS FUTURE ROLE WITH THE ARMY BY STATING, "IN  
AFRICAN COUNTRIES THE MAN WHO CONTROLS THE ARMY  
CONTROLS THE COUNTRY." THEY REALIZE, AS DOES DOREIGN  
AFFAIRS, THAT IF MAPHEVU IS TO DOMINATE SWAZILAND, IT  
WOULD MEAN A CONTINUATION OF SOBHUZA'S IMPLICITLY PRO-  
SOUTH AFRICA STANCE.

6. COETZEE AND ZEITSMAN MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY  
WERE WELL AWARE OF THE IDENTITY AND LOCATION OF  
LIBERATION MOVEMENT MEMBERS IN SWAZILAND BUT THAT  
THEY HAD NO INTENTION OF INTERVENING INSIDE SWAZILAND.  
ZEITSMAN PULLED OUT A FILE ON SWAZILAND AND READ IN A  
FAMILIAR, FRIENDLY, ALTHOUGH SEEMINGLY EXASPERATED  
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TONE ABOUT SOME OF THE RECENT ACTIVITIES AND PURCHASES  
OF ANC MEMBERS IN SWAZILAND. HE STATED THAT MONEY  
SEEMED TO BE NO PROBLEM FOR THE ANC, SO MUCH SO THAT  
A LOT OF IT APPEARS TO BE WASTED, IF NOT POCKETED.  
ZEITSMAN WAS WELL AWARE OF SPLIT INSIDE ANC RANKS  
BETWEEN THOSE WHO ARE MORE NATIONALIST-ORIENTED  
THAN COMMUNIST. HE ATTRIBUTED THE RECENT DECREASE  
IN ANC ACTIVITY THROUGH SWAZILAND (MBABANE 2015)  
PARTIALLY TO THIS SPLIT BUT MUCH MORE TO THE SECURITY  
POLICE APPREHENDING SEVERAL IMPORTANT RECRUITERS AND  
DESTROYING MUCH OF THE ANC UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION IN  
NATAL AND TRANSVALL. ZEITSMAN NOTED THAT MAPUTO SEEMS  
TO HAVE BECOME THE ARSENAL FOR RETURNING ANC MEMBERS  
AND HE FEELS THAT AN INCREASED AMOUNT OF TRAINING IS

TAKING PLACE IN MOZAMBIQUE, ESPECIALLY ON THE SCORPION  
AUTOMATIC PISTOL.

7. THE SECURITY POLICE SEEM MUCH LESS WORRIED ABOUT THE  
PAC; THEY SEE IT AS SO FRAGMENTED BY INTERNAL DIVISIONS  
THAT IT PRESENTS LITTLE THREAT AT PRESENT. COETZEE  
DESCRIBED PAC MILITARY COMMANDERS AS CHILDREN (MOSTLY  
IN EARLY 20S) WITH LITTLE EXPERIENCE OR ORGANIZATION.  
IN DISCUSSING THE RECENT GOS CRACKDOWN ON PAC ACTIVITY  
IN SWAZILAND, ZEITSMAN STATED THAT THE SECURITY POLICE  
HAD BEEN FOLLOWING PAC INTERVENTION IN THE MNGOMEZULU  
CLAN FEUD FOR OVER TWO YEARS. THEY HAD ARRESTED  
SEVERAL PAC INSTRUCTORS INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA AND WERE  
AWARE OF THE EXTENT OF THE PAC "FISHING IN TROUBLED  
WATERS." ZEITSMAN GUESSED THAT THE REASON FOR THE  
PAC/SWAZILAND TAKING SUCH A LARGE RISK IS THEIR  
HISTORIC LACK OF ORGANIZATION IN NORTHERN NATAL AS  
THE ZULUS HAVE GENERALLY SUPPORTED ANC. MKHWANAZI APPARENTLY  
FELT THE AREA WAS VULNERABLE AND COULD BE EASILY  
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PENETRATED BY USING THE MNGOMEZULU CLAN FEAUD AS A  
COVER. WHEN QUERIED IF THE SECURITY POLICE HAD ANY  
INTENTION OF INTERVENING TO STOP PAC ACTIVITY IF THE  
SWAZIS HAD FAILED TO ACT, ZEITSMAN REPLIED, ABSOLUTELY  
NOT. THAT WAS A POLITICAL DECISION WHICH HE COULD NOT  
INITIATE. THE BORDER GUARD IN THE AREA HAD BEEN  
STRENGTHENED IN ORDER TO TRY TO KEEP THE TWO MNGOMEZULU  
FACTIONS SEPARATED, NOT TO INTERVENE. OPERATIONS IN RSA  
WERE EFFECTIVE IN LIMITING PAC ACTIVITY.  
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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-01 ICA-11 IO-13  
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/115 W  
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R 230645Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MBABANE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5046  
INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY MASERU  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

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8. COETZEE READILY ADMITTED SAG INABILITY TO DESTROY THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS SO LONG AS OTHER COUNTRIES CONTINUED TO GIVE THEM SHELTER. HOWEVER, HE SEES THE SECURITY POLICE ROLE AS BEING RESPONSIBLE FOR DESTROYING THE UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION IN SOUTH AFRICA. HE RECOGNIZES THAT THIS WILL FORCE THE ANC AND PAC TO BUILD THEIR INFRASTRUCTURE IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES IN ORDER TO ATTACK SOUTH AFRICA. THE SECURITY POLICE ARE PREPARED FOR A LONG AND BITTER FIGHT. WHILE THEY REALIZE THEY CAN'T EVER ACHIEVE A "FINAL" VICTORY, THEY DO FEEL THEY CAN KEEP THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OPERATING FROM OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA AND KEEP ARMED INFILTRATION TO AN ACCEPTABLE LEVEL. BY PREVENTING CREATION OF LIBERATION MOVEMENT INFRASTRUCTURE IN RSA, THEY FEEL THAT THE GUERILLA IMPACT WILL BE LIMITED TO ISOLATED ACTS OF TERRORISM, WHICH WILL PROVE INCAPABLE OF TOPPLING SAG.

9. AS FOR SWAZILAND'S SPECIFIC ROLE, ENITHER THE SECURITY POLICE NOR THE DEPT OF FOR AFF HAS A PRE-CONCEIVED POINT WHERE IT WOULD  
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FIND THE SITUATION INTOLERABLE. SO LONG AS THEY CAN KEEP INFILTRATION TO AN ACCEPTABLE LIMIT, THEY WOULD NOT RECOMMEND ANY ECONOMIC OR MILITARY ACTION AGAINST SWAZILAND THE OFFICIALS AT FOREIGN AFFAIRS STATED THAT THE ONE ACT THAT WOULD BRING IMMEDIATE RETALIATION INTO SWAZILAND WOULD BE THE OPENING OF A GUERILLA CAMP AIMED AT RSA. THE SECURITY POLICE DO NOT FORESEE ANY GREAT INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE INFILTRATING FROM MOZAMBIQUE UNLESS SWAZILAND WAS TO BECOME A BOTTLENECK. FINALLY, ON THE QUESTION OF COOPERATION FROM THE SWAZILAND POLICE, ZEITSMAN STATED THAT IN GENERAL IT WAS QUITE GOOD BUT HE SIDESTEPED THE QUESTION OF COOPERATION ON POLITICALLY SENSITIVE MATTERS. HOWEVER, HE NOTED THAT SWAZILAND'S CURRENT POLICY WAS QUITE ACCEPTABLE TO THEM. THE PROBLEM LIES IN THE FUTURE, IF A NEW REGIME DECIDED TO GIVE OPEN ASSISTANCE TO THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS (FORGED DOCUMENTS OR PASSPORTS, PROVIDING ARMS, ETC.), THEN, THEIR ENTIRE STANCE TOWARDS SWAZI-

LAND WOULD HAVE TO BE CHANGED, BUT ZEITSMAN FELT THIS TO BE A  
REMOTE POSSIBILITY NO MATTER WHO TOOK POWER IN SWAZILAND.

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## Message Attributes

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**Decaption Note:**  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
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**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014